

## Message Text

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17

ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 IO-10 OMB-01 SAI-01 SAM-01 ACDA-05 /086 W

----- 001077

R 070931Z JAN 75

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5902

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

USLO PEKING

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 0199

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, JA, UR

SUBJ: PROSPECTS FOR GROMYKO VISIT TO TOKYO

SUMMARY: JAPANESE NOT ENCOURAGING ANYONE TO EXPECT MUCH OF SOVIET FONMIN GROMYKO'S UPCOMING FOUR-DAY VISIT TO TOKYO. FEELING MORE CONFIDENT THAN A YEAR AGO, THEY ARE PREPARED FOR INTRANSIGENT AND THREATENING SOVIET POSITION AND WILLING TO FOREGO COMMUNIQUE IF NECESSARY. AT SAME TIME, FONOFF PROFESSIONALS BELIEVE CURRENT STATE OF FOUR POWER RELATIONSHIPS MAKES IT DIFFICULT FOR GROMYKO TO ADOPT TOO HARD A LINE. PRIVATELY, THEY IMPLY THAT GROMYKO MIGHT MAKE SOME POSITIVE GESTURE DESIGNED TO COMPLICATE FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY WITH PEKING. END SUMMARY.

1. FOLLOWING ARE DETAILS ON UPCOMING GROMYKO VISIT, AS PROVIDED BY FONOFF:

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JANUARY 9TH: ARRIVAL AT HANEDA BY A SPECIAL PLANE: DINNER PARTY

TO BE GIVEN BY FOREIGN MINISTER AND MRS MIYAZAWA.  
10TH: TALKS WITH FOREIGN MINISTER MIYAZAWA TWICE, IN THE MORNING  
AND IN THE AFTERNOON.  
11TH: SIGHTSEEING TOUR AND REST.  
12TH: CALL ON PRIME MINISTER MIKI IN MORNING; LUNCHEON TO BE GIVEN  
BY PRIME MINISTER MIKI; MEETING WITH EMPEROR AND EMPRESS IN AFTER-  
NOON; FOLLOWED BY THIRD ROUND OF TALKS WITH FOREIGN MINISTER  
MIYAZAWA; DINNER PARTY TO BE GIVEN BY FOREIGN MINISTER AND MRS  
GROMYKO.  
13TH: DEPARTURE FROM JAPAN.

2. FONMIN GROMYKO WILL BE ACCOMPANIED BY HIS WIFE,  
VICE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS FIRYUPIN, CHIEF  
ASSISTANT TO FONMIN MAKAROV, AND FONMIN SECOND FAR  
EASTERN DEPARTMENT DIRGEN SHPECHKO.

3. JAPANESE ARE NOT ENCOURAGING ANYONE TO EXPECT  
MUCH OF VISIT. FONMIN MIYAZAWA TOLD AMSSADOR DEC 29  
THAT GROMYKO WOULD PROBABLY BE "DRAGGING HIS FEET"  
ONLY ANY SUBJECTS OF SUBSTANCE. HE SERIOUSLY QUESTIONED  
WHETHER COMMUNIQUE OF ANY KIND WOULD RESULT FROM  
VISIT. FONOFF FIRST EAST EUROPEAN DIVDIR ARAI  
CONFIRMED TO EMBOFF JAN 7 THAT GOJ PREPARED FOR HEAVY  
GOING. HE NOTED THAT SOV AMB TROYANOVSKY HAS CALLED ON  
LDP VP SHITNA DEP PRIMIN FUKUDA AND LDP SEC GEN NAKASONE IN  
LAST THREE WEEKS TO HARP ON STANDARD SOVIET THEMES. AT WORST,  
ARAI EXPECTS STRONG POLEMICS FROM GROMYKO AND  
STERN WARNINGS THAT CONCLUSION OF A  
PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY (PFT) WITH PEKING AIMED  
AT THE SOVIET UNION WOULD DAMAGE JAPAN-SOVIET  
RELATIONS. HE ALSO EXPECTS SOVIET OFFER OF PEACE  
AND AMITY TREATY (PAT) WHICH WOULD FINESSE TERRITORIAL  
ISSUE. ARAI ANTICIPATES SOVIETS WILL LINK ANY  
CONCESSIONS TO JAPANESE WITH DEANDS FOR STIFFENING  
OF JAPANESE POSITION VIS-A-VIS THE CHINESE.

4. SHOULD WORST CASE FORECAST PROVE ACCURATE,  
ARAI SAID JAPAN READY TO STONEWALL SOVIETS AND FORGET  
ABOUT COMMUNIQUE. GOJ POSITIONS HAVE NOT CHANGED.  
PFT WITH CHINA NOT AIMED AT ANY THIRD COUNTRY.  
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JAPAN WILL NOT NEGOTIATE PAT WITH SOVIETS WITHOUT  
NEGOTIATING RETURN OF ALL FOUR NORTHERN ISLANDS.

5. ARAI SAID HE FEELS JAPAN IN STRONGER POSITION VIS-A-VIS  
SOVIETS THAN WAS CASE A YEAR AGO WHEN FONMIN MIYAZAWA  
WENT TO MOSCOW. JAPAN HAS RECOVERED FROM OIL SHOCK  
MORE FULLY THAN WAS CASE LAST YEAR: SOVIET ECONOMY  
HAS PERFORMED POORLY AND DOMESTIC POLITICAL SCENE

IN USSR SEEMS SHAKY: AND US POLICIES EMBODIED IN  
PACIFIC DOCTRINE HAVE ALSO HELPED BUILD JAPANESE  
CONFIDENCE.

6. ARAI BELIEVES IT WILL BE DIFFICULT FOR GROMYKO  
TO TAKE TOO HARD A LINE DURING THE UPCOMING TALKS.  
GROMYKO IS AWARE THAT REOPENING OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH  
PEKING IS NEXT ITEM ON JAPANESE DIPLOMATIC AGENDA  
AND THAT OVERSEENING SOVIET STANCE WILL DRIVE JAPANESE  
FURTHER AND FASTER IN DIRECTION OF PEKING. ARAI  
SPECULATES THAT SITUATION MAYBE SOMEWHAT ANALOGOUS  
TO THAT OF JANUARY 1972 WHEN GROMYKO LAST VISITED  
JAPAN. HIS PURPOSE AT THAT TIME WAS TO SLOW NORMALIZATION  
OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN TOKYO AND PEKING,  
AND HE TRIED TO DO SO (UNSUCCESSFULLY IT TURNED OUT)  
BY OPENING THE PROSPECT OF NEGOTIATIONS ON THE  
NORTHERN TERRITORIES ISSUE WITH THE JAPANESE. IN  
ADDITION, ARAI FEELS THAT SOVIETS CONCERNED ABOUT  
PACIFIC DOCTRINE, AND RECONGNIZE FACT THAT JAPAN IS  
SOVIET' MAJOR CHANNEL FOR A DIPLOMATIC ROLE IN  
NORTHEAST ASIA.  
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